**BELFRAGE'S REPORT FROM GHANA AND 2 PAGES OF PICTURES . . . 6 & 7**

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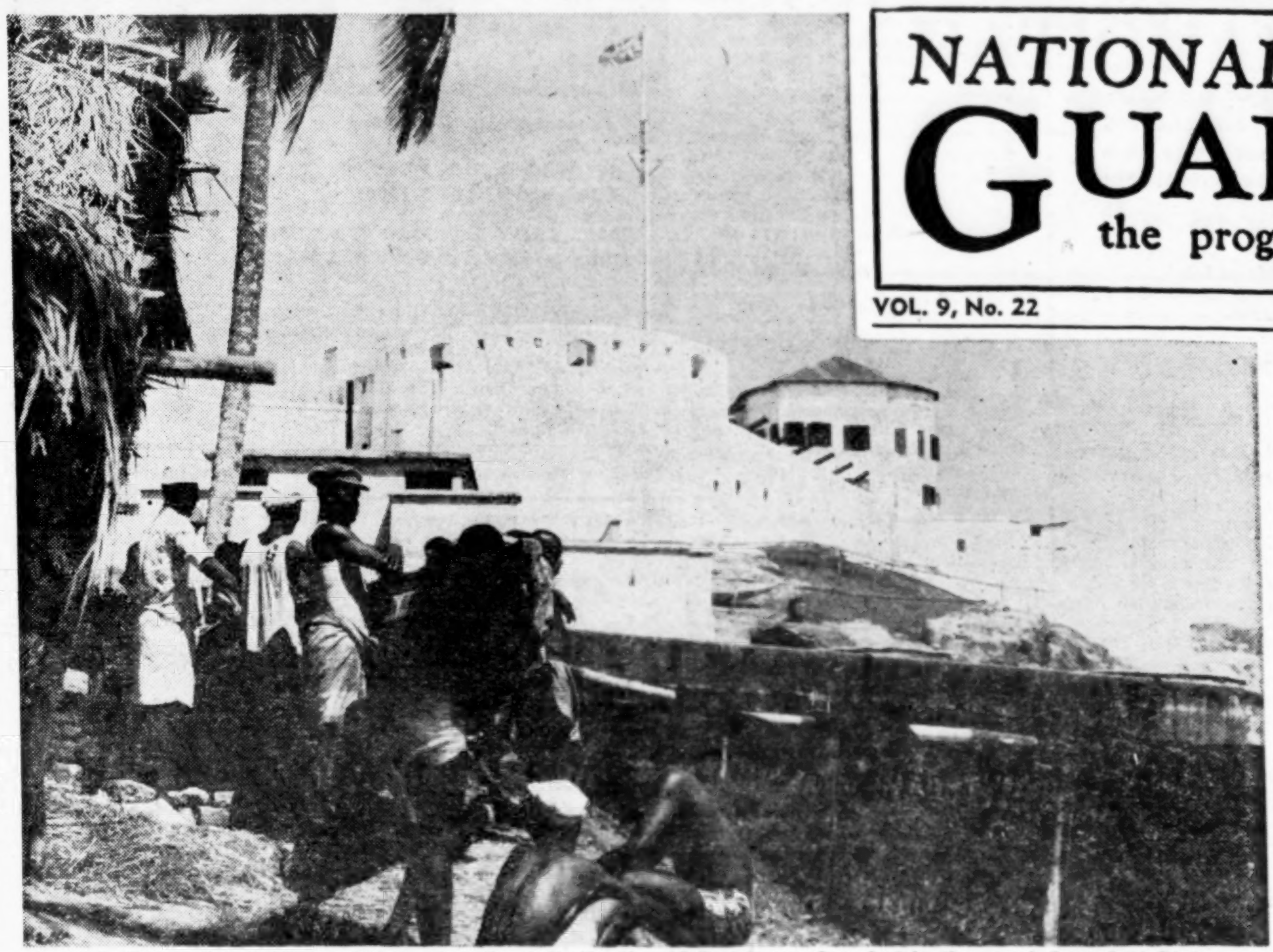

In the capital of Ghana: This is Cape Coast Castle, the old Portuguese slave fort in the new independent State.

DEFEAT IN INDIANA STUNS LABOR

# Phony right-to-work laws now in 18 states

By Lawrence Emery

INDIANA is a highly industrialized state. It is the nation's third largest steel producer. It turns out 80% of the country's building limestone, 12% of its household furniture. Six of every ten inhabitants work in its metal industries. All told, the state has some 8,000 industries, 200 coal mines. Six hundred thousand Hoosiers belong to labor unions. But on March 1 the state legislature adopted a measure, euphemistically called a right-to-work law, which bans all forms of union security. GOP Gov. Harold W. Handley, serving his first term, announced that he would not veto the bill but would allow it to become law without signing it.

Labor was appalled at this defeat; employer groups were gleeful. Although Indiana became the 18th state to adopt such a law, it was the first industrialized northern state to do so.

**COMPLACENT LEADERS:** There were several reasons for the Indiana set-back. Top leaders of the AFL-CIO were preoccupied with the Senate probe of "labor racketeering" and with explosive internal jurisdictional and other problems. They were also smugly complacent about their ability to hold the line against the right-to-work drive in the states. As long ago as March, 1955, the **AFL News-Reporter** boasted that "a nationwide survey conducted by the AFL reveals that in industrial states where labor is strongest, the 'right to work' drive has failed to get off the ground."

In Indiana itself, the merged labor movement was less than united; former AFL and CIO leaders failed to work together, didn't see eye-to-eye on strategy, at times worked at cross-purposes. The official **AFL-CIO Federationist** for March reported in its labor briefs that "a throng of 1,400, including Indiana's Gov. Harold W. Handley, attended the legislative dinner of the State Federation of Labor at Indianapolis." Almost as the

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INTERVENTION FAILS

# Du Bois refused a passport despite Nkrumah's plea

By James Aronson

THE ONE MAN in all the world who should have been in Accra for the inauguration of the independent state of Ghana was not there. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, father of the Pan-African movement, organizer of five sessions of the Pan-African Congress between 1919 and 1945, the first loud and clear voice for a free Africa, was denied a passport by the United States government—despite the personal intervention by Ghana's Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah.

Months before the March 6 Independence Day, Nkrumah had written Dr. Du Bois telling him that he very much wanted Dr. Du Bois and his wife, author Shirley Graham, to be present at the historic occasion. When an official invitation arrived, Dr. Du Bois applied for a passport which had been denied him since 1952. He had held a passport for 65 years and had made 13 trips abroad in that time. But since 1952 he has refused, as a matter of principle, to state in the application whether he is a member of the Communist Party, although it is public knowledge that he is not.

**A LETTER IS SENT:** On Feb. 22, "the first day of my ninetieth year," he wrote to Secy. of State Dulles informing him that he and Mrs. Du Bois had made new applications and had made travel reservations to leave for Ghana Feb. 27. In the letter he said:

"This is Africa which is asking. These are the people whom America once enslaved and still treats as second-class citizens. They, on their own soil, have achieved independence and they ask from us not simply the courtesy of representation, but of the representation of that element among us which called for and fought for equality of black men since the First World War. The honor is proffered not to me as a person but to me

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WAR & PEACE

# UN sees a breathing spell in Mideast despite scares

By Tabitha Petran
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

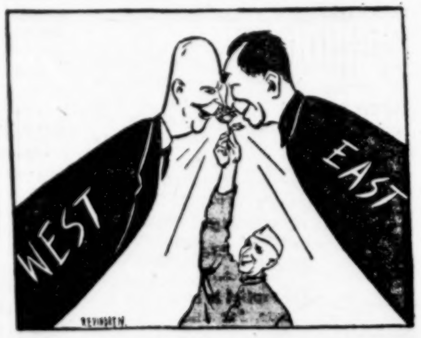
WITH THE FINAL withdrawal of all belligerent troops from Egypt and the indefinite recess of the General Assembly's 11th session, one phase of the Middle East storm has come to an end. Despite headlines of new crises, the feeling in the UN's almost deserted corridors was that a breathing spell, however temporary, may have been achieved.

The new crisis headlines were not uncalculated. Egypt's rejection of the Western "interim" plan for the Suez Canal could have surprised no one, since its determination to exercise full sovereignty over the Canal has been clear since nationalization last July. (Under the Western plan the World Bank would collect tolls, splitting them 50-50 between Egypt and a Western-controlled blocked account.) Similarly, the somewhat equivocal press conference statements of the President and Secy. Dulles regarding U.S. "guarantees" to Israel were not unexpected in view of the U.S. attempt to carry water on both shoulders.

**BARGAINING TIME:** Egyptian President Nasser's statement that the question of Israel's use of the Canal was still undecided suggested that the Nasser government was not averse to a settlement with Israel and may be ready to bargain now that Israeli troops had been withdrawn. At UN there was sober realization that much negotiation lies ahead before decisions are reached on such questions as Gaza, the Palestine refugees, and Aqaba. Egypt's swift naming of a governor for Gaza made it plain the bargaining would be hard and shrewd.

The excited headlines concealed the fact that Western capitals have made no effort to reappraise Middle East realities following the upheavals of the past year. The Western Three, acting together for the first time since Suez, were preparing to reject as "phony propaganda" the Soviet Feb. 11 proposals for the Middle East looking toward neutralization of the area although many Western commentators have recognized that neutralization is probably the only way to peace and genuine security for Israel and the Arab states.

**OLD FORMULA:** The Eisenhower Doctrine—essentially an old formula Washington has applied elsewhere ever since



Blitz, Bombay
**"Friendship is the breathing rose with sweets in every fold."**

1947—cleared the Senate by the large vote of 72-19, 58 days after the President proposed it. If the Senate debate was more critical, and the changes more extensive than any made regarding a Presidential foreign policy request in recent years, the debate revealed no grasp of Middle East realities; the changes were

(Continued on Page 8)

# NOTICE

**This month another large class of subscriptions falls due for renewal. If your address label reads March '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW.**

- **To renew for one year mail address label with $3 to address below. Label is on back of this coupon or on wrapper.**

**NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.**

# THE MAIL BAG

### Petrol a-plenty

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

The GUARDIAN like the rest of the U.S. press has been in the habit of speaking of the European shortage of oil since Suez, as if all Western Europe were caught up in the same catastrophe as England and France. But Clare Booth Luce, speaking on the radio program **Meet the Press** a month ago, declared that there is at present "no gasoline shortage in Italy and none in the foreseeable future, provided the Canal is opened within six months."

My friends in Germany report that "everything goes as usual" and if there is a fuel shortage they have not heard of it. What worries them is the shortage of soap and sugar caused by "hamstering" or, as we call it, hoarding! The case is similar in Vienna — no petrol shortage, no change in the price. Nor is there any scarcity in Switzerland or Scandinavia.

It is possible to explain this report by the tremendous volume of synthetic fuels produced in West Germany and Austria, especially from brown coal. But Italy has no shortage either and Italy's chief source of supply is Shell. So there must be some other reason. This was suggested by the Paris correspondent of the **New Yorker** who wrote not long ago that there is plenty of petrol in and around Paris if the motorist is willing to pay for it. In other words, it is just possible that the petrol "shortage" was invented by Ten Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay for reasons of state. How about it?

**Dr. Bernard Raymund**

### Write on Galindez

CHICAGO, ILL.

I earnestly urge your readers to write their representatives (urging their friends to do the same) to support Rep. Chas. O. Porter in his request for a Congressional investigation of the Galindez and Murphy disappearances (murders?), and for the imposition of economic sanctions on the Dominican Republic.

**Dr. Ralph R. Sackley**

### Of course

MILAN, MICH.

Well over a year ago the Rotary Club purchased a prefabricated glass cage on the roof of the village office. Nearly a year later access was provided by building an outside stairway for use as a Civil Defense ground observer station. In January the local paper informed its readers, "As the observation post is not heated, it is not thought advisable to start operations until spring." Aggressor nations will of course cooperate.

**R. F. Burlingame**

## *How Crazy Can You Get Dept.*

These are touchy times all right.

A woman transacting some business at the escrow desk of a Main St. bank yesterday was asked, "What is your marital status?"

And so help Lucy Logan, standing nearby, she exclaimed indignantly, "I'll have you understand I'm a 100% American—I'm not a Red!"

**L.A. Times, Dec. 6**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: D. Sigal, Los Angeles, Calif.

### TVA in Hell's Canyon

UPLAND, CALIF.

Senator Morse and the real Democrats are fighting to overcome the stupidity of allowing private power to install one low dam in Hell's Canyon rather than the high dam our engineers and scientists had planned.

The sabotaging of a Federal multi-purpose high dam at Hell's Canyon is what caused so many people of Oregon and Washington to switch from Republican to Democrat.

Our rapidly growing Northwest and Pacific states are going to need every bit of the great Hell's Canyon project, just as those five states in the Tennessee Valley now know what TVA (which private power and Dixon-Yates tried to sabotage) means to them.

**Franklin M. Baxter**

### Death & taxes

CLANTON, ALA.

Are the American people going to stand for being taxed to death forever, to keep some of the worst tyrants of the world in power? We have for years been financing Chiang Kai-shek's tyrannical regime, and contributing heavily to the murderous Colombian and Spanish governments. Now are we going to have to contribute even more heavily to this Arabian satrap to help him keep the Arab people in slavery? Remember how our forefathers fought the Revolutionary War, principally because of a small tax on tea?

**Wes Gletty**

### Caveat emptor

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

As an employe pharmacist, I am very disturbed by the careless way people take potentially dangerous drugs. Many of the new and some of the old wonder drugs are truly wonderful in their speedy relief of human illness. But practically all of them, if not taken properly under constant supervision of a doctor, have dangerous side effects. These effects range from temporary allergic reactions to permanent harm and poisoning of the patient. Some effects are damage to the nervous system, heart, liver, kidneys or other organs, diabetes, cancer, etc.

The pity of it is that thousands of people are taking these dangerous drugs daily without knowing what is in store for them. What's the cure for the evil? There should be established a State Pharmacy Authority on the scale of State Liquor Authorities that would more strictly enforce existing laws and would prevent opening unnecessary new pharmacies, raise license fees to pay for added supervision. Violations should be severely punished—padlock stores for violations and revoke licenses for repeated or major offenses. Further, newspapers and periodicals should publish the available information on the dangers of self medication—or are they afraid to lose some advertising revenues?

**Louis Dinnerstein**

### Vitamins to the rescue

STATE COLLEGE, PA.

Please send to me 100 capsules of Guardian Angel vitamin and mineral. Also I will appreciate it very much if you could mix some new vitamins to strengthen the democratic convictions of the American people.

**Danilo V. Salcedo**

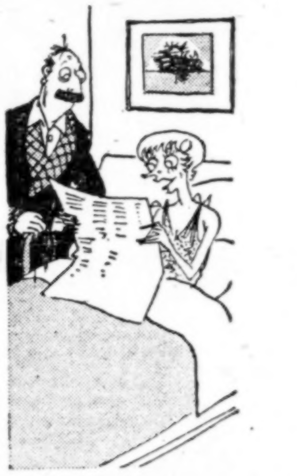
### Anti-Imperialist League

OAKLAND, CALIF.

A revolt occurs in, say, Iraq: we label it "communist" and "aggression" and move in U.S. troops. We have now come full circle; having grown from our own revolution we now proclaim there shall be no more revolutions; progress must stop.

Don't we need a U.S. Anti-Imperialist League to fight internally against such policies? Such as did such a valiant job during the Spanish-American war?

**Name Withheld**



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

**"Goody, goody, the international crisis must be almost over—the President's coming back from vacation."**

### Lowenfels tour

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Walter Lowenfels will soon be travelling across the country to fill speaking engagements.

Lowenfels, author of songs such as **Wasn't That a Time** and **The Lonesome Traveller**, was among the "expatriate" poets of the 20's and early 30's. Seven of his books were published in England and France. In 1932 he shared the Richard Aldington Poetry Award with E. E. Cummings. In 1954 he received the poetry prize given by **Masses & Mainstream**. His book, **Sonnets of Love & Liberty**, was completed during his recent trial under the Smith Act in Philadelphia. (He is currently appealing a two-year sentence.)

In his talks before college groups, clubs, forums, etc., Mr. Lowenfels traces (with examples from his own and other work) the impact that folk song and popular traditions are having on modern art forms. To arrange for appearances, write to:

**Anne Whittier,**
**5405 Kingsessing Station**
**Philadelphia 43, Pa.**

### Reminder from Shalimar

SHALIMAR, INDIA

At a meeting of the Shalimar Padmapukur Defense Party (Resistance Group) held under the presidency of Dr. Prabhuram Chatterjee, President and Captain of the Party, at 90/1, Currie Road, Howrah, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"This meeting of the members of the Shalimar Padmapukur Defense Party views with deep concern the inequalities and disabilities as well as at times violent oppression under which the Negro citizens of the United States of America have been living and to counteract which the citizens and their sympathizers have been forced to a program of nation-wide passive resistance. The members further in the interests of peace and justice call upon the American government to fulfil her pledge of democracy for all American citizens whether black or white."

**Saratkumari Chatterjee,**
**Secretary**

### Any friend of Oscar's . . .

BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.

I am so glad I found your publication. I used to follow Oscar Ameringer in the old **American Guardian** and have missed him.

**(Mrs.) Florence Wheeler**

### Now hear this

PORTLAND, ME.

The enclosed $100 comes from readers here who greatly admire the GUARDIAN. We feel that it is of the utmost importance that you continue your magnificent work for honest news and for peace and justice.

**Name Withheld**

### Connecticut Yankee

THOMASTON, CONN.

My notion of the ideal social state is a place where there ain't no stigma attached to eatin' beans with a knife and where everyone, includin' state, Federal and petticoat gov'ments, minds his, her or its own business.

**Mac Browne**

**Extra dividend!**

Additional letters to the Mailbag appear on p. 11

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VOL. 9, No. 22 401 March 18, 1957

## REPORT TO READERS

# 'The Frightened Giant'

WE THINK YOU WILL AGREE, as you read through this issue of the GUARDIAN, that our coverage of the Independence ceremonies in the new nation of Ghana in West Africa is among the most impressive you have seen anywhere in the U.S. press.

In a wry sort of way, this is sweet revenge on McCarthy, Velde, the Dept. of Justice and the paid liars and obeisant judges who connived to deport Cedric Belfrage in 1955.

Belfrage, having been deported from the Land of the Free after calling it home for 30 years, is now free to travel anywhere in the world except to these United States (where we suspect he still wants most to come). As a Britisher he could freely accept an invitation to the Ghana ceremonies, whereas the venerable Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, walled up in the Land of the Free in his 90th year for activities in behalf of a free Ghana among other things, could not.

THE REASON WE SUSPECT that for all his new mobility, Cedric Belfrage still wants most to come "home" to us here, is the nostalgia that brims over in every chapter of his new book, **The Frightened Giant**, which is described for you on Pages 5 & 9.

Published in London in January by Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd. of Bloomsbury, **The Frightened Giant** is characteristically subtitled, "my unfinished affair with America." Of the fears which beset the U.S. giant, Belfrage has this to say:

". . . men and women were smiling at the promise of a richer life in the smoke of new factories, the last rickshaws were going into museums as the symbol of a dead age of man's inhumanity to man. Was it this that the giant feared, this that must not be spoken of on pain of deportation and prison? Was the giant afraid that if all these people won freedom and abundance it would cut into the freedom of those who had freedom, and the abundance of those who had abundance, in America? And was he afraid that neighborliness was really an incurable trait in the American people which could not be forever suppressed by hypocrisy and lies?"

YOUR U.S. EDITION is made up of pages ("sheets") shipped from London and bound here into a handsome library piece, for which we suggested some time ago you set aside space on your home bookshelf. After reading it, you might like to send a copy to your local library, as many readers have already done with Dr. Du Bois' **Black Reconstruction** and Vito Marcantonio's **I Vote My Conscience**. We hope you will keep this in mind; it is probably the only way your community library may get such books.

●

GUARDIAN ANGELENOS! If you need an extra reminder this is it, to telephone Tiba Willner for your reservations to the GUARDIAN's Eighth Annual Birthday Dinner-Dance, Fri. eve., Mar. 29. Red Callendar and his orchestra will do the musicking; the rest of the evening is a surprise program. Tiba's telephone is Webster 1-9478 in Los Angeles. Keep it ringing!

**—THE GUARDIAN**

NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE

# What are the prospects for Israeli-Arab peace?

By Kumar Goshal

THE LAST MILITARY phase of the invasion of Egypt came to an end on March 9 as all Israeli forces and civilian personnel withdrew from Gaza and Aqaba. But it remained to be seen whether the freeing of Egyptian soil of all invasion forces meant merely a return to conditions prevailing before the war, or was a prelude to negotiations leading to a lasting Israeli-Arab settlement in the Middle East.

While Israel "assumed" Washington's future support in establishing her navigation rights and maintaining her border security, she received no concessions from the UN for her withdrawal. The UN emerged with its prestige unimpaired.

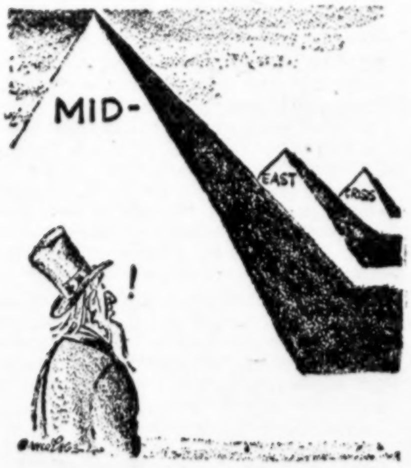
Those anxious to prevent a recurrence of armed conflict could reasonably ask the UN for further efforts to eliminate the causes of Israeli-Arab friction in the Middle East. Such efforts could be made easier if both Israel and the Arab countries showed some willingness to modify their viewpoints and make concessions on the basic issues involved.

**TWO BASIC FACTS:** Successful negotiations for peace in the Middle East must recognize (1) the powerful spirit of Arab nationalism and hostility to every manifestation of Western imperialism, and (2) the fact that Israel is here to stay.

The Asian-African solidarity during UN discussions of the war in Egypt demonstrated that this spirit of nationalism is common to both continents. Feudal Arab rulers and foreign interests behind them have been able to divert popular discontent against Israel because—despite Israeli protests—the ordinary Arab has identified Israel with Western imperialism—partly because the Jewish homeland was established not through negotiations with the Arabs but under the auspices of British imperialism.

"The question of Israel," Prof. Geoffrey Barraclough of Britain's Royal Institute of Intl. Affairs wrote (**The Nation, 3/2**), "is not the essence of the Middle East problem. . . . The central factors are Arab nationalism, Arab resentment against the West and social revolution in the Arab world." Although the question of Israel is an exacerbating factor, Barraclough said, even if Israel did not exist "these problems would still produce a potentially explosive situation."

**THE FIRST JOB:** Richard Beeston, former Beirut correspondent of the Arabic radio station in Cyprus, asked an Oxford-educated Arab socialist why the Arabs have failed to create "any real democratic Socialist system." He was given this reply: "The ultimate aims of Arab Socialists are the same as yours. But our priorities are different. . . . We cannot start building the institutions of Socialism [until] we have first laid genuine foundations of national independence. . . Our first task is to carry out the aims of Arab nationalism, and in this we work together with all other nationalists" (London **New Statesman & Nation, 1/12**).



Louisville Courier-Journal
PYRAMIDING

This popular spirit of nationalism and desire for genuine independence has been inexorably forcing the feudal Arab rulers towards neutrality, non-alignment with power blocs. "On such a background," wrote Yaakov Amit, a member of the Presidium of the World Zionist Actions Committee (**Israel Horizons**, April, '57), "Israel, which is situated right in the middle of Asia, appears to them as an exception."

**A TEST OF SINCERITY:** While it is true that Israel harbors no foreign bases, she nevertheless has in effect considered herself a Western outpost. She has sought, and assumes she has now received, U.S. military guarantees on her behalf in the event of further conflicts with the Arabs. Recommending a policy of neutrality for Israel, Amit said: "It will put to the test the sincerity of the political factors—among them factors of inestimable importance—which claim that neutrality is the central factor in their attitude toward other countries and governments. In addition, it will return to Israel foreign policy its power of mobility."

Speaking in a similar vein, Meir Yaari, Mapam Party (left socialist) leader in the Israeli parliament said at the eighth convention of the Histadrut Haovdim (Israel's Fedn. of Labor) that Israel should "adopt a policy of neutralism and independence" to prove, "above all to itself, that it is a state which desires independence and non-identification" with power blocs.

**TWO MAIN FEARS:** Beeston said the Arabs have two main fears of Israel: (1) Israel, with Western support, will expand at the expense of the Arab states; (2) if Israel-Arab frontiers are opened, the Israelis, with their superior industrial and technological know-how, will soon dominate the entire region economically.

The first fear has been aggravated by the extremist clamor in the Israeli parliament for more territory and the persistent rumors of the imminent dissolution of the state of Jordan, with Israel taking over a part of that Arab land. This fear can be eliminated by permanent border agreements and non-aggression pacts between Israel and her neighbors endorsed by the UN. Israel has indicated her desire for such pacts.

The second fear could be overcome if technical and financial assistance for the economic development of the entire Middle East were channeled through the UN.

**"A DAY OF HAPPINESS":** Addressing the UN General Assembly on March 1, Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir told "the neighbors of Israel" that, while "we all come from an area" which has witnessed "many wars and many conflicts, it is also a part of the world which is of an ancient culture." "Can we, from now on—all of us—turn a new leaf," she asked, "and instead of fighting with each other, can we all, united, fight poverty and disease and illiteracy?" She pledged "the government and the people of Israel to do their part in this united effort . . . so that all of us, together, can live to see a day of happiness for our peoples . . ."

To many friends of Israel, it seems clear that she can demonstrate the practicability of Israeli-Arab cooperation for mutual benefit by modifying her attitude toward the Arab refugees and Arabs living within Israel.

**PLENTY OF ROOM:** Instead of denouncing the 1948 Arab attack on Palestine as totally unjustifiable and attributing the refugee problem solely to that war, Israel could examine that attack from the Arab point of view. For, as I. F. Stone said (**Stone's Weekly**, 4/30/56), "the Arabs had a right to fight, too" because "from their point of view . . . they saw themselves swamped and reduced to subordinate status" in their Palestinian homeland.

**THEY HOPE FOR PEACE TO RETURN TO THEIR FLOCKS**
*UN soldier and Arab guide on patrol in Sinai chat with shepherd boy.*

Ernst Simon, a proponent of Jewish-Arab harmony, suggested (**Liberation**, Sept., '56), that Israel welcome some of the refugees back to Israel. "Not all of Israel has been colonized so far," Simon said. "There is room for newcomers as well as recomers."

Emma Levin Talmi, parliament member and head of Mapam's Women's Section, visiting the U.S. this winter, said: "The just treatment of our Arab minority will pave the way to the Asian countries. We do live in Asia. The awakening Asians are sensitive, as we are, to the treatment of minorities."

**A RACIST ARGUMENT:** It is not enough to say that Arabs in Israel live far better than their brothers outside. White supremacists in America argue thus when they say that Negroes in America are far better off than Negroes in Africa. Only full equality for Arabs in Israel can be the measure of Israeli democracy.

Influential Israeli citizens are increasingly becoming aware of the need for such equality. Last September the Mapam party initiated a conference of Jewish and Arab citizens at Haifa, with the support of many leaders of different faiths and occupations. The successful binational conference decided to establish a Jewish-Arab Assn. for Peace and Equality to campaign for "full equality between Jewish and Arab citizens of this country."

**MAPAM'S PROGRAM:** The Political Committee of the Mapam Party, in fact, recently presented this program for the road to peace:

1. Immediate peace negotiations without prior conditions with all Arab states on the basis of the territorial integrity and the legal rights of all countries.
2. A constructive solution to the Arab refugee problem in cooperation with the UN.
3. Guarantee of free passage for Israel in the Gulf of Aqaba and in the Suez Canal.
4. Full and equal rights for the Arab minority in Israel.
5. Neutrality of the State of Israel and non-participation in any military pact.
6. Dissolution of all military pacts in the region, such as the Baghdad Pact and the treaty between Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.
7. Neutralization of the Middle East and its exclusion from the arms race.
8. Big Four and UN guarantee of the neutral status of the region.
9. Withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Middle East.

The Mapam program has received no official sanction from the Israeli government. It nevertheless reflects the sentiments of a large section of the Israeli population, indicates an awareness of the realities of the present situation, and echoes suggestions made by men of goodwill abroad.

**THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL:** There is no record of similar proposals from the Arab side. There has been much fierce talk of liquidating Israel, but only occasionally an off-the-record comment that the Arab governments might be willing to discuss Israeli-Arab peace on the basis of the 1947 UN partition of Palestine—a procedure which events since then have made highly impractical.

The Arab governments will have to accept the existence of Israel—perhaps with minor border adjustments—as the basic point of departure for any peace negotiations. "Unlike British and French residents in Arab lands," Fred Sparks said (N.Y. **World-Telegram, 3/4**), "[the Israelis] have no place to go back to."

Since Mapam, a member of the coalition government of Israel, has openly presented a broad basis for negotiations, some counter proposal might reasonably be expected from the Arab side. With the withdrawal of Israeli troops and personnel from Gaza and Aqaba, the UN might ask for peace proposals from the Arab states.

**THE TASK AHEAD:** The situation undoubtedly is complicated by the intrigue of Western oil interests, Anglo-French wishful thinking of turning the clock back, U.S. eagerness to "fill the vacuum" for economic and anti-Soviet reasons and Soviet countermoves against the U.S.

The great powers and foreign economic interests will not keep hands off the Middle East merely by exhortation to cease and desist.

The Israeli and the Arab governments can give proof of genuine statesmanship and concern for their peoples by taking the play away from those who profit by keeping them divided, by declaring their independence of conflicting interests, by using their own political and economic initiative through the UN at a time when the war in Egypt has been halted through the UN.

THE HOTPOINTS WENT LIKE HOTCAKES

# 'Don't Call Me Madam'—a free enterprise drama

By Elmer Bendiner

*Of all the girls that e'er was seen,*
*There's none so fine as Nelly.*
**Jonathan Swift**

*Progress is our most important product.*
**General Electric Co.**

TESTIMONY in court and before a Congressional committee in recent weeks has detailed an ingenious tie-in sale of General Electric appliances on the East Coast and an odd sisterhood, unofficially attached to the Brotherhood of Teamsters, on the West Coast. The developments taken together showed segments of Capital and Labor employing call girls—and for once the girls emerged from the spotlight nobler than their customers, though in the end they may have to take the rap.

NELLA BOGART
*Saleswoman*

The ladies contributed far more to Capital than to Labor. The Brotherhood of Teamsters took no cut of the trade; the profits went only to some energetic free-enterprisers among the business agents of the Teamsters. General Electric's share was bigger and clearer. Electrical appliances moved briskly by the carload across the nation as the result of orders filled out in hotel bedrooms.

**WHAT'S THE JOB RATING?** The sales technique might have continued to move freight trains full of merchandise if Nella Bogart, 32, had not been arrested under the Mann Act on a charge of transporting two women across the state line from New York to New Jersey to entertain GE customers at a convention in Newark. There was no doubt of Nella's profession—only of her job rating. Though she indignantly denied she was a madam, she admitted she was a call girl.

Dark-haired, pretty and cheerful, Nella told her story before Federal District Judge Edward J. Dimock in New York. She was born in Poland, spent 3½ years in a Nazi concentration camp, then managed a cloth store in Germany to help put her husband through medical school. They came to Chicago in 1951 and her husband opened his medical practice. Then came divorce and Nella slipped, ultimately becoming known, according to one witness, as "The Viennese Princess."

Her attorney Henry G. Singer told the jury of middle-aged men: "You and I and every other man in the world made her what she is."

Singer pin-pointed the guilt. He showed how John W. Murray, then Newark G.E. sales manager, and Lewis E. Rinker, former advertising manager, ordered the girls. On the stand Murray said: "We were having an open house showing a new line of Hotpoint and . . . I called Rinker and asked him to have a couple of girls over for entertainment."

**HOW IT WORKED:** Nella herself described the system: "It came to a point where I took a writing pad and I divided it into lines and he [a salesman] told me the names of the articles with numbers, such as B-42 and C 45's, and I wrote them at the beginning of the column and filled in the amounts. They [the customers] kept increasing the orders, they kept saying, 'Make this two carloads, make this one carload.' . . . I was just happy I was doing something. I was very proud. My old saleswoman ego was flattered."

She said that when Charles Kirby and Art Linkle of A.B. Television Co., Oradell, N. J., later reneged on orders thus negotiated, a G.E. official told her not to see them again unless they "how do you call it . . . reinstated." When one of them called, she told him: "I'm sorry. You're a stinker. You can't see me." He reinstated.

Though denying that she had acted as a madam, she admitted freely that she and friends had been invited to many GE conventions. Recalling one evening in Newark last June she said: "Everybody was intoxicated and the last bus was about to leave. So we got dressed and left."

**AN OLD REMINDER:** Attorney Singer said in court that Nella's wages came in part from himself, the judge and the jury since the sums were "deducted by G.E. as business expenses and with no tax paid on it so that men can enjoy the company of these women . . . The only people that got away with this are G.E. and Rinker and Murray. Are they better than the women they used?" He reminded the jury: "You can't have a prostitute without a man. No one has figured that one out yet." But in a devastating comment on free enterprise Singer added sympathetically that he could not blame GE's executives: "They live in a materialistic world where you have to be a good salesman."

The jury took only 55 minutes to acquit Nella Bogart. She told reporters she was leaving her profession: "It's nothing but an illusion . . . I'd rather scrub floors." She hoped, though, to get a saleswoman's job. "I think that I have proven—I paid a high price—that I'm a good salesgirl." Marriage, too, figured in Nella's happy ending. The prospect was marred though because the man who was to take her away from all this is still under indictment for allegedly transporting his bride-to-be across state lines in connection with her former work. Also threatening her was the Immigration Dept. for possible moral turpitude. (She has her first papers.)

**A PROPER INFERENCE:** G.E. spokesmen expressed shock that their orders came from such sources and the executives who employed Nella were reported to have been fired. None faces further harassment. Judge Dimock told the jury: "You might infer that Rinker and Murray were afraid of prosecution and did what they could to assist the government in the prosecution" of Nella.

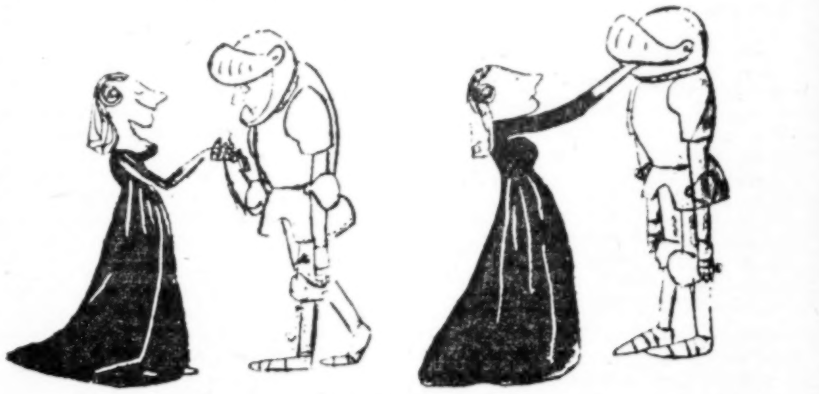
Throughout the trial Nella Bogart was frequently called "a modern Polly Adler," referring to the celebrated ex-madam, now retired in California. In a telephone interview with the N.Y. **World-Telegram** Miss Adler said:

"It's the same old thing of charging a woman with transporting girls over a state line. Think of all the men, all the long days, who are transporting women over hundreds of state lines for you-know-what. Nothing ever happens to them. That has not changed . . . Say, I'm interested in the inflationary situation in that ah . . . field. Just imagine, the price today is $50 to $100. It sure has gone up. Like everything else. You know how it is. Glad to note that the big industrial firms involved in this ah—work have not lost the concept that the law of supply and demand applies to everything."

**PIN BALLS AND DA'S:** In Washington other madams testified before the Select Committee on Labor and Management Practices, headed by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.). Testimony had been offered that Frank Brewster, president of the Western Conference of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, as a side-line to his union work, had just about taken over Portland, Ore.—from the pin-ball machines to the District Attorney's office.

Mrs. Ann Thompson, a tall, gray-haired madam, told the Senators that an associate of Brewster's, Thomas Maloney, had sent her to Portland to size up possibilities for new call houses. She backed down, she said, because Maloney had asked too big a share of the profit in return for guaranteed protection from the Teamster-backed District Atty. Wm. M. Langley. Another madam known as "Big Helen" Hardy testified that she had opened up shop on Maloney's assurances that Langley would not bother her but she was closed up by uncooperative Portland police.

Labor, it seemed, would not be likely to go scot-free, as G.E. had done. Employers were certain to use the Portland scandals to smear unionism in general. While top AFL-CIO leaders promised "full co-operation" to the McClellan probe, the N.Y. **Times** quoted an unnamed Senator as drawing this moral from developments in the bawdy-politic: "Well, we finally found out we could go after the labor leaders without incurring the wrath of labor."



Vie Nuove, Rome

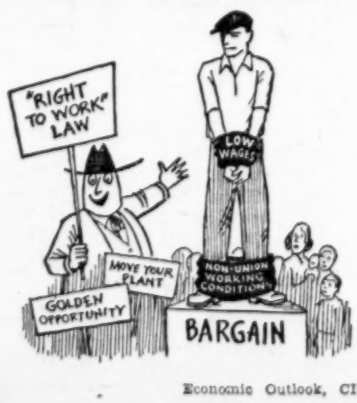
# Right to work

(Continued from Page 1)

type for that cheerful item was being set, the wined and dined legislators had racked up the kill.

**DEMONSTRATION LATE:** Belatedly, the Indiana AFL leaders called for a demonstration of strength—and got one. On short notice, some 10,000 unionists poured into Indianapolis the day after the legislature had acted. They tied up traffic, clogged the capitol building, cut loose with their own brass band and clanged continuously on a Statehouse Liberty Bell. But the Governor stood firm against a veto.

For one thing, the Governor had his heart set on a whopping State tax boost which he hopes to wangle through the legislature this term. The Indianapolis **Times** explained: "On the blazing right-to-work issue, which passed both houses, the Governor maintained strict neutrality. He knew that if he tampered with the right-to-work bill he might lose support for his tax program."



Economic Outlook, CIO

Employer groups, witn the support of some conservative farm organizations, have been working steadily at right-to-work legislation in most states since 1947, when the Taft-Hartley Law was passed.

Taft-Hartley prohibits the closed shop contract, under which employers may hire only union members, but allows the union shop which permits the hiring of non-unionists provided they join the union within a given time after employment. But under its Section 14B, the Taft-Hartley Law permits states to outlaw the union shop and all other membership-protection clauses in union contracts. All efforts to repeal Section 14B have failed; this year it isn't even on labor's legislative list.

So far, right-to-work laws have been adopted in Southern states and non-industrial Northern states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Virginia.

**HARTLEY AND NAM:** The Indiana triumph has now excited right-to-work advocates to greater efforts. The drive is headed by a Natl. Right to Work Committee, headed by ex-Congressman Fred Hartley, co-author of the Taft-Hartley Law. It is backed by the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce and other powerful employer organizations.

The NAM has recently emphasized its opposition to all forms of "enforced" unionism and repeated its aim to break the "monopoly power" of unions. But the NAM disavows any anti-labor intent, insisting that "the right to work is as basic to a free America as the right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'..."

The American Civil Liberties Union is on record against such laws: "The history of interference with the civil liberties of labor organizations, in the areas where most of the statutes have been enacted, gives ground for concern that they carry the potential danger of being used—or misused—directly to obstruct the exercise of basic organizing rights like the hiring of halls for union meetings."

**BEATEN IN WASHINGTON:** A right to work law was defeated in the state of Washington last year, but it took one of the most extensive and costly labor campaigns ever waged in the state. Nevada last year for the third time upheld its right-to-work law at the polls. Democratic governors of Tennessee and Iowa have called for repeal of the laws in their states, but no success is expected in the foreseeable future.

The California Assn. of Employers began a right-to-work drive last year; its president, W. M. Caldwell, told a closed meeting of the group: "This campaign will take millions, but the money will be made available."

Other drives are under way or are expected in Delaware, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maryland, Kansas and West Virginia. Most employers are convinced that the current Senate labor probe will advance their cause.

"THE FRIGHTENED GIANT"—BELFRAGE'S NEWEST BOOK

# A stubborn editor's own story

**By Ring Lardner Jr.**

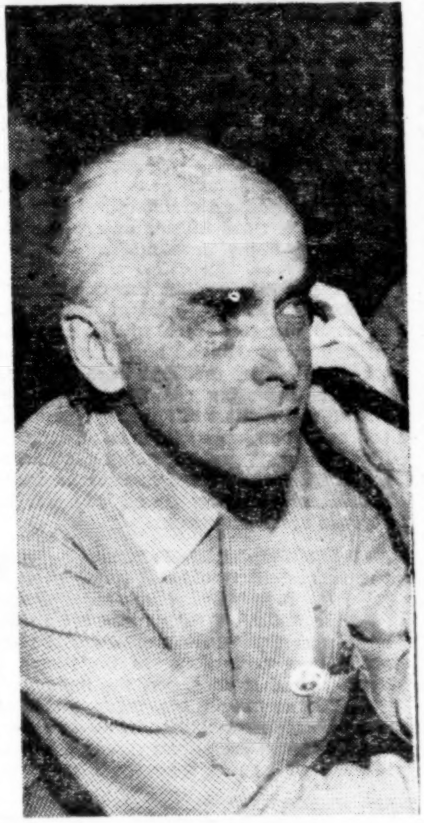
WHEN CEDRIC BELFRAGE asked to be released on bail for a matter of days in order to clean up his affairs before leaving the United States, the Immigration Service denied the request after what it described as "very careful consideration."

This was the last in the series of persecutions and mental tortures reported by the GUARDIAN'S Editor-in-Exile in **The Frightened Giant: My Unfinished Affair with America.*** It differed from the others in that they had a purpose. They were part of a deliberate plan to remove Belfrage's person from America to England as the Department of Justice had been ordered to do by Senator McCarthy.

The final denial of bail had no such basis in reason. Did Herbert Brownell actually think Belfrage would escape into hiding, preferring the existence of a homeless, hunted fugitive in this country to a respectable life with his wife and children in England? Certainly his devotion to America is strong and his new book, as the subtitle suggests, is a moving account of his thirty-year relationship with her. But we cannot assume that the Department of Justice would detect that devotion in a subversive alien, and magnify it to such an irrational degree of passion.

WE MUST CONCLUDE rather that the decision was a piece of pointless cruelty, the sort of petty, vindictive act that can only spring from unreasoning hatred and fear. It is this pathological fear that disturbs Belfrage about the America he loves and which has officially spurned his suit. The fact that the giant's fright is baseless does not make it any less real. Nor does the fact that some of the hysteria in high places is synthetic. Belfrage contends persuasively that he was deported not because the men in power thought he and the GUARDIAN were Communist, but rather because they knew that they were not. Since it was official policy that only Communists, acting under direct orders from Moscow, could oppose the cold war program, the label of Communism must be firmly attached to any independent editor and publication. It is too simple, however, to think that our rulers in Washington always operate on such a consciously hypocritical level. They are also motivated by fear, sometimes mounting to absolute panic, of their own bogeymen.

This "strange fear that stalks the land" is shared by an indeterminate majority of ordinary Americans who believe it when they are told that their security and very existence are threatened by dangerous individuals within and aggressive socialist nations without. For them Belfrage has compassion and hope. He is convinced that they will eventually rise in anger to repeal such perversions as the Walter-McCarran Act. Then "many now illegally banished will come back . . . because the American land and air and people have become a pleasant habit for them and they cannot stop thinking of America as home."



CEDRIC BELFRAGE
*At journalists meeting in Helsinki*

THE FRIGHTENED GIANT is the story of its author's last three months in America, with excursions back into the previous history of his case. With sustained good humor and the gentle irony which has always made his prose refreshing, he recounts each outrageous display of inhospitality: the invoking of a technicality to deny him citizenship because of his absence from this country during wartime service; his arrest and detention on Ellis Island the morning after McCarthy's imperious demand for such action; the wildly irregular Immigration Service hearing; his second arrest and imprisonment in the New York Federal House of Detention on West Street in violation of the Justice Department's order that "under no circumstances may alien detainees any longer be placed in jail"; his assignment there to the "maximum security" classification involving restrictions and penalties ordinarily applied to the most dangerously violent inmates; the continued denial of any bail whatsoever pending what would have been the first judicial consideration of his case.

As GUARDIAN readers will remember, Belfrage held out for three months at West Street before he, along with his lawyers, associates and wife, decided that his chances of ultimate victory could not justify the continued effort, expense and indefinitely prolonged imprisonment. What his book tells that is new and enormously interesting are the details of prison life during a hot New York summer.

LIKE ALL PEOPLE who have lived on the comfortable side of the law, he had misgivings about adjusting to his first experience in jail. There is something degrading and unsettling about the intimate physical inspection and the rest of the mechanics of being reduced from a man to a numbered body. Because there is not and obviously could never be such a thing as a political prisoner in America, the political prisoner does not enjoy the privileges accorded him in countries with a longer tradition of tyranny. Yet he cannot help feeling that there is a difference between himself and his new companions.

What he quickly learns is how small that difference is. Cedric Belfrage was agreeably surprised at the amount of courtesy and good fellowship he found. An enlightened man, he had realized that the felon not engaged in his employment has a normal capacity for innocent enjoyment. But that is not the same thing as fully appreciating that criminals en masse are essentially the same as ordinary people en masse. When he discovered further that the most noticeable distinction—their almost unanimous contempt for constituted authority—is one that brings them into closer sympathy with the politicals, he was ready to associate and observe as freely as the restrictions of his particular detention would permit. His accounts of the stories and attitudes of his fellow prisoners are both penetrating and entertaining.

THROUGHOUT his sojourn at West Street, he had most valid grievances against his custodians, notably that he was in jail without so much as being accused of a crime, and on top of that subjected to unusually close confinement on the absurd excuse that it was for his own protection. He won a compromise on this latter point in the first few days through a hunger-strike, and in the end a victory. These were serious matters and Belfrage treated them as such, but one gets the feeling that he also attacked them with a certain gusto, a kind of pleasure in the fight that did no disservice to the principle.

Prison confinement, especially in small doses, can be as stimulating and broadening as any other new experience in life.

**THE FRIGHTENED GIANT by Cedric Belfrage. Martin Secker & Warburg, Ltd. London. 236 pp. American edition $3.95. Obtainable in U.S. through National Guardian at special price of $2.95 ppd. Write: Belfrage Book, National Guardian, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.*

# Fulfill 'er up, please

A LETTER to Moscow's **Izvestia** Jan. 6 vouches for the following unhappy motoring incident in the U.S.S.R.:

Once when I was driving along the Kharkov-Rostov road I stopped at a petrol pump to fill up the tank. Several cars were waiting in front of me. It seemed that the petrol station was not selling any petrol. On the office door was the sign: "No Sale of Petrol Today." I was surprised by this notice. No sale? What were the cars on the road to do—wait till tomorrow? I went in as though there was nothing unusual and asked to have my car filled up.

"Can't you read?" A man with a bristling little moustache looked up at me with surprise; "It's written in black and white, 'No Sale Today'."

"Haven't you got any petrol, then?"

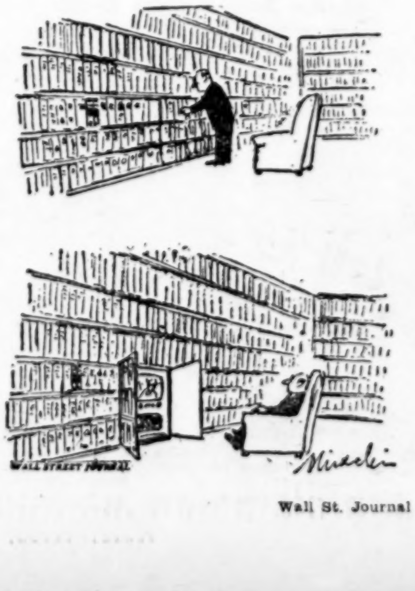
"There's any amount of petrol. Baku is functioning properly, I'm glad to say."

"Then why won't you fill up my car?"

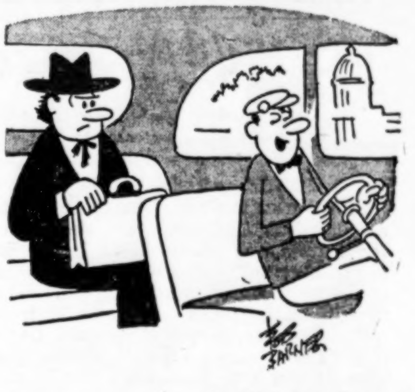
"We've fulfilled our plan for today."

To tell the truth, I was disgusted. "How on earth," I exclaimed, "can you expect a daily planned quota of petrol sales, if you can't plan the number of passing vehicles?"

"What do you mean?" My interlocutor rose menacingly from his table: "Are you opposed to State Planning, then? . . ."



Wall St. Journal



Christian Science Monitor
**"How come you fellows never thought of putting a tax on taxes?"**

MARK TWAIN

# St. Patrick & the snakes

HARTFORD, Conn. March 16, 1876
To the Chairman:
Dear Sir:

I am very sorry that I cannot be with the Knights of St. Patrick tomorrow evening. In this centennial year we ought all to find a peculiar pleasure in doing honor to the memory of a man whose good name has endured through fourteen centuries. We ought to find pleasure in it for the reason that at this time we naturally have a fellow-feeling for such a man. He wrought a great work in his day. He found Ireland a prosperous republic, and looked about him to see if he might find some useful thing to turn his hand to. He observed that the president of the republic was in the habit of sheltering his great officials from deserved punishment, so he lifted up his staff and smote him, and he died. He found that the secretary of war had been so unbecomingly economical as to have laid up $12,000 a year out of a salary of $8,000, and he killed him. He found that the secretary of the interior always prayed over every separate and distinct barrel of salt beef that was intended for the unconverted savage, and then kept that beef himself, so he killed him also. He found that the secretary of the navy knew more about handling suspicious claims than he did about handling a ship, and he at once made an end of him. He found that a very foul private secretary had been engineered through a sham trial, so he destroyed him. He discovered that the congress which pretended to prodigious virtue was very anxious to investigate an ambassador who had dishonoured the country abroad, but was equally anxious to prevent the appointment of any spotless man to a similar post; that this congress had no god but party; no system of morals but party policy; no vision but a bat's vision; and no reason or excuse for existing anyhow. Therefore he massacred that congress to the last man.

When he had finished this great work, he said, in his figurative way, "Lo, I have destroyed all the reptiles in Ireland."

St. Patrick had no politics; his sympathies lay with the right—that was politics enough. When he came across a reptile, he forgot to enquire whether he was a democrat or a republican, but simply exalted his staff and "let him have it." Honoured be his name—I wish we had him here to trim us up for the centennial. But that cannot be. His staff, which was the symbol of real, not sham, realism, is idle. However, we still have with us the symbol of Truth—George Washington's little hatchet—for I know where they've buried it.

Yours truly,
**Mark Twain**

**A NEW COUNTRY IS BORN**

# *Ghana: Its future rests with the youth*

**By Cedric Belfrage**
**Special to the GUARDIAN**

ACCRA, GHANA

THE PLANE, seeming to liken the white man to a god, crosses Europe in an afternoon, and the great desert before dawn; and on its final hop from Kano, Nigeria, sweeps over a vast and terrifying brown plain with dried-up river beds, no roads and stunted trees scattered thinly. It is as if you had flown to the moon; eating your ice cream, you wonder: can it be inhabited?

Look closer through the heat-haze and you see mud huts jammed within walled compounds, faint tracks across the desolation, and large areas crudely tilled. Africa's suffering multitude teems below unseen. A new awareness of them comes suddenly, with a pang of guilty horror at their condition after generations of rule by the gods who built the marvelous flying machine and are now splitting atoms.

At Accra airport, tree-shaded and brilliant with flowers and flags for Independence Week, you already know why the name of Kwame Nkrumah is on every Ghanaian lip. One of their own has led them from darkness into light, and massive fortresses strung along their coast—white civilization's first calling-card—remain to remind you how dark it has been.

**THE OLD SLAVE FORT:** The traffic in human bodies conducted up to 150 years ago through these forts is said to have sent 20 million of their ancestors away in chains (Ghana's population is 4½ million). And on a corner of the coco-palm-bordered road to the Danish slave fort, now used as the British Governor's house in Accra, hangs a wreath to the three comrades killed nine years ago, when police fired on unarmed ex-servicemen marching to the Governor with a petition for justice. This was the event that touched off days of rioting and looting and the first arrest of Nkrumah, and which wrote March 6, 1957, indelibly on the wall.

Now plane after plane brings white nabobs and their attendant scribes, to congratulate Ghana's people on replacing the Union Jack with the Black Star flag of freedom. Doubtless the fortunes of some of these—and the smaller fortunes of many Ghanaians too, descendants of chiefs who bartered their brothers for gin and gewgaws—were founded on the slave trade. Many more fortunes have since been made by the systematic despoiling of the people's mineral, agricultural and human wealth.

But the emphasis in Independence Week is on goodwill. The British rulers have given ground and nothing is said, although nothing is forgotten, about the past—not even the exilings, jailings and terror by which they tried to resist the irresistible up to a few years ago.

**TOUGH BUT NOT BITTER:** Anti-imrialist utterances by Vice President Nixon or any of the other distinguished Western visitors are acknowledged graciously but taken with much salt. The same probably goes for such protestations from socialist countries, however much more sincere they may be—and although Nkrumah doesn't deny he learned much from them about how to deal with imperialists. The young Africans leading Ghana into independence have been toughened, and yet not embittered, by their experience in a wicked world. They want non-imperialistic deeds, and at that they are careful to inspect the mouths of all gift horses.

They believe in dealing with everyone on a businesslike basis, regardless of past or present grievances. That is why they asked practically all nations to the party (they didn't agree with Washington, which pressed them to invite Chiang, that Formosa is a nation). Together with Nkrumah's personal guests it adds up to a fabulous political mixed-grill in this small tropical city: he insisted on inviting fighters against colonialism—from Jomo Kenyatta's lieutenant Mbiyu Koinange to British Communist theoretician Emile Burns, from British Guiana's Cheddi Jagan to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and Mrs. Marcus Garvey. With these subversive types Nixon was to find himself a fellow guest at the Independence Day state reception.

**AN EXPENSIVE PARTY:** Nixon is a room-neighbor of such foreign dignitaries as a general from Peking in the government-built Ambassador, the only de luxe hotel I ever entered (outside of you-know-where) with no vestige of color- or caste-bar. We of the press—with some 50 from the U.S. alone—are getting the full gentleman treatment in a wing of University College, an architectural gem ennobling the rural hillside over which the campus is rising in terraces.

The party is costing the Ghana government $2,800,000—a lot of money, but it could pay off. Much will be said and written about Ghana's backwardness and its mountainous problems ahead; yet all but the incurably racist white visitors should feel a little differently now about the resourcefulness and guts of which a black people is capable. Many will understand that one of the great revolutions of history has begun and will not be stopped from spreading.

**A BEAUTIFUL PEOPLE:** Many who think themselves charitable will surely begin—for it is more than time—to wipe the superior smiles off their faces, after they have seen the Ghanaians' dignity, purposefulness and gaiety in building the hard way what they won the hard way. The Western press has made much of these people's eccentricities, especially in their free-wheeling dress styles; but now it shall be known that the black men of Ghana whether in work-shorts or their Roman-style togas, the black women draped in equally bright-patterned cloth and moving with the queenliness which their great head-burdens only accentuate—these are people as beautiful as any latitude can produce.

Their tempo is slow because their climate is hot, yet with freedom ahead they have built fast. In the past two years Accra has been semi-transformed with new buildings and government enterprises; its remaining slum area is proportionately smaller than in many Western capitals. Europeans complain that black people are slow to get the point when you talk to them—but they were not slow to get Nkrumah's point.

**THE NATIONAL FAITH:** The explanation of this slow-witted mask is obvious to anyone familiar with Negro-white relations in Dixie. Since Ghana has some 18 languages, and it takes at least six of these (all used by Ghana Radio) to be understood in any part of the country, the minimal mastery of English is not surprising. But 12 Ghanaian university students won London University honor degrees last year, one of them topping all the London students on the list.

In face of Ghana's language headache on top of all the others, some see as a miracle the national faith with which its leaders and masses are striking out on

*(Continued on Page 7)*

The University College campus in Accra. Note the modern building design and students in gowns.

Young Ghanaians painting a mural for the Ambassador Hotel in Accra.

A woman conductor collects fares on a modern bus in Kumasi, Ashanti.

# Ghana's future

(Continued from Page 6)

freedom road. The problems look insoluble, but Nkrumah believes they can be solved in time provided that, in the hard years surely ahead, the fire he lit in the people does not die.

The toughest problem is that of the chieftaincy system and the dragging burden of superstition which has been bound up with it. This system has been on the one hand a not undemocratic one by tradition—with chiefs commonly and frequently "de-stooled" if they opposed the people's will—but, in recent years, the main instrument used by whites to maintain colonialism. Opposition to Nkrumah is based on chiefs especially in Ashanti province, site of most of the goldfields.

**A HOT POTATO:** The Asantehene (Ashanti ruler, whose powers the new constitution curbs but doesn't eliminate) refused to attend the Independence celebrations in Accra even to meet the Duchess of Kent, and there was talk—cold-watered by the Ghana government—of the Duchess going to him. Having used the chiefs as instruments against independence in the past, Britain's ruling class now proclaims the need to maintain the chiefs' powers as a "democratic" bulwark. The more governmental powers can be decentralized, the better the prospects for the further economic exploitation of Ghana.

Any of Nkrumah's aides in Accra's impressive new government buildings will admit that this is a very hot potato for the young Prime Minister, who could ruin the chances for the socialist development he desires by acting too precipitately against chiefly power. Such an ancient part of the social fabric cannot be eliminated in the foreseeable future; ways must rather be found to blend the best elements of it into the new socialist fabric.

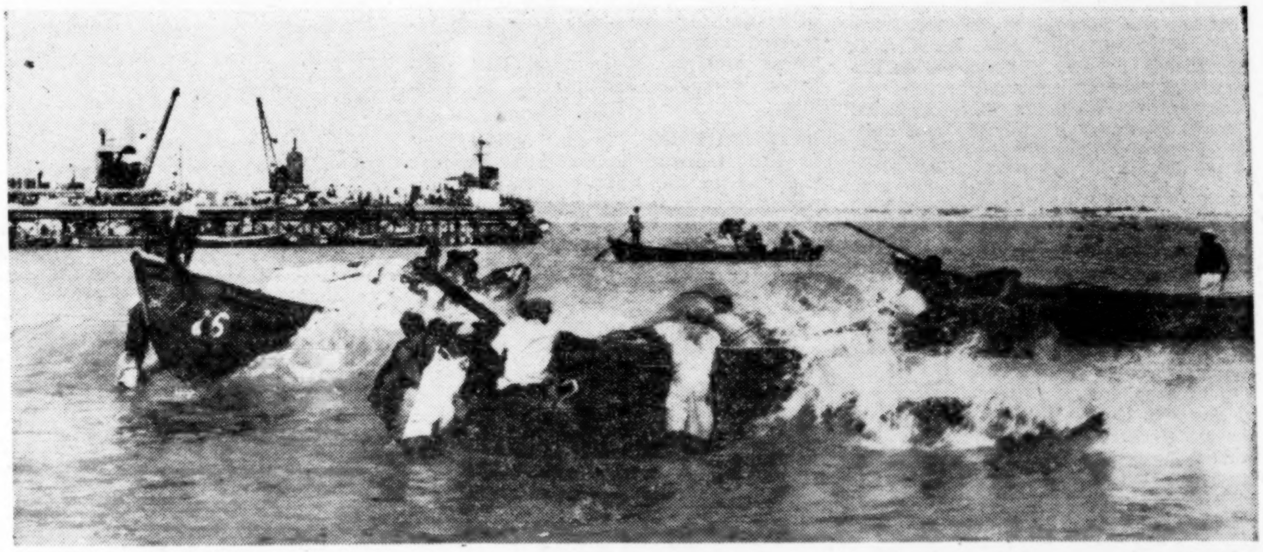
With a 90% illiterate population, Nkrumah sets out to build a modern state "with all the mechanism of one" (as the aide who received me in the Prime Minister's office building put it) "but none of the machinery." The machinery must be bought, mainly with surplus from the cocoa stabilization fund which depends on the (recently falling) price of that crop; technical cadres to run the machines and create a native industry must be trained.

**IT DEPENDS ON YOUTH:** Said the British dean of the university, showing off the half-completed $33,000,000 campus where some 700 will eventually study and be housed: "They haven't got a nation yet; whether they'll have one depends on these young people." Gowned after the Oxford and Cambridge style, some of the students could be seen at dinner in the airy, magnificently-proportioned hall designed by British architects and built by a subsidiary of Lever Brothers' United Africa Co.

The hearts of many newspapermen here—though hardly of all—go out to these young Africans charged with making Ghana a nation. But "everything here so far has been done by the British," remarked a dour photographer—and it is largely true so far as top creative work is concerned: everything, that is, except the giving birth to freedom, the hardest and most beautiful job of all.

Having to use white talent for years more, and trying to infuse it too with the nation-building zeal although their jobs must finally pass to Ghanaians—that is another of Nkrumah's endless problems. But after the official toasts to the more perfect happiness of England's Queen and America's King, let us join Nkrumah in a toast to this youth of black Ghana.

KWAME NKRUMAH


Until the harbor facilities at Accra are developed further, small craft like these will continue to unload passengers and cargo.

These men are working on a project along the river banks to control the tse-tse fly in the Northern Territory.

# Du Bois passport

(Continued from Page 1)

as representing the Pan-African Congress, of which I am President."

Dr. Du Bois recalled an interview with Dulles in San Francisco in 1945 during which they discussed the trusteeship provisions for the developing United Nations Charter. He was impressed, he said, by Dulles' expressed sympathy for Africa and hostility toward the colonial system. "If I was right," he wrote in the Feb. 22 letter, "I trust this is still your attitude and that you realize that Africa is starting forward and is asking not simply for investment . . . but for recognition of black folk as human beings and citizens of a modern state. I therefore write to ask permission to visit Ghana on this occasion . . ."

**SILENCE FOLLOWS:** The letter was sent registered mail and a copy, with a covering letter, was sent registered to Vice President Nixon, who was preparing to leave for Ghana as head of the U.S. delegation to the ceremonies.

There was no reply from either official. Nixon went to Africa.

In Accra, Cedric Belfrage, the GUARDIAN's roving editor-in-exile, learned that a cable had been sent to Washington from Accra in the last week of February by government officials emphasizing that it was the new government's wish that Dr. Du Bois come for the celebration. He learned also that Prime Minister Nkrumah had intervened personally with the U.S. consul on March 3, on protocol advice. It was only later that afternoon that Nixon talked with U.S. correspondents.

**QUESTION IS ASKED:** Homer Jack of the American publication **Christian Century** queried Nixon on the widespread bad feeling in Ghana over the denial of a passport to Dr. Du Bois. Nixon told Jack that nobody had raised the question with him. Aside from the fact that Dr. Du Bois' letter was in Nixon's office in Washington before he left, Belfrage learned that Nixon was spending hours daily with the U.S. consul in Accra.

The passport denial, Belfrage cabled, has "only heightened the love and respect that Ghanaians have for Dr. Du Bois."

This love and respect was manifest in a cable sent by Nkrumah to Dr. Du Bois on March 9. The cable read:

"Deeply regret your absence in spite of my personal intervention on this historic occasion to which you have contributed so much. Our thoughts go out to you and your wife. Your absence is country's loss. Affectionately. Kwame Nkrumah."

# Watkins case could put a crimp in witch-hunt

THE SUPREME COURT on March 7 took under advisement a key case which may possibly clip the wings of high-flying Congressional investigating committees. The right of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to demand names of individuals for the sake of exposing them is being challenged by John T. Watkins, organizer for the United Auto Workers.

Watkins in 1954 testified freely about his own activities, including his collaboration with Communist Party members in the labor movement from 1942 to 1947. He swore he himself had never been a member, and he refused to name his former associates. He was asked specifically about some 30 individuals, many of them not members of any union.

He based his refusal on the grounds that the questions served no "legislative purpose" and that they invaded his rights of freedom of speech and association under the First Amendment. A Federal judge, sitting without a jury, convicted him of contempt of Congress and gave him a one-year suspended sentence and a fine of $500.

**INDICATION OF PANIC:** A three-judge panel of a Circuit Court of Appeals reversed his conviction in a 2 to 1 ruling in January, 1956. Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton in the majority opinion held that the questions had been asked "for the sole purpose of exposure" and declared that "it is very questionable whether exposure of individuals to public contempt is a valid legislative purpose."

The government then took an unprecedented step: it demanded that the full seven-man Court, sitting en banc, rehear the case. It did, and restored the original guilty verdict. **Labor's Daily** last week conjectured on the government's motive for this unusual step:

"No valid explanation has yet been given as to why the government felt obliged to call in all seven justices following [the reversal]. Indications point to panic among those who have thrived on witch-hunting, especially after such respected newspapers as the New York **Times** and the Washington **Post** published editorials sympathetic to Watkins."

**ENTER THE BAR.** Watkins' defense brief to the Supreme Court contends that "nothing in the legislative history supports the extraordinarily broad construction . . . that Congress has authorized the Committee to identify and 'expose' every present and former member of the Communist Party."

A friend-of-the-court brief upholding the Committee's challenged powers was filed by Herbert O'Conor, former U.S. Senator from Maryland and now chairman of the American Bar Assn.'s Committee on Communist Strategy, Tactics and Objectives. It argues that "if Congress has the power to inquire into the subject of communism and the Communist Party, it has the power to identify the individuals who belong to the party."

Watkins was represented before the Supreme Court by Joseph L. Rauh, Washington counsel for the UAW and national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. The government's case was presented by Solicitor General J. Lee Rankin.

**NAMES, NAMES, NAMES:** Rankin declared that "the facts of this hearing do not show that its purpose was exposure. The committee was diligently trying to ascertain facts on which it could legislate. There was a reasonable and legislative purpose and there was legislation." He emphasized the fact that some four months after Watkins had refused to talk, Congress amended the Internal Security Act of 1950 to outlaw "communist-infiltrated" unions.

Rauh said that, although Watkins might have been considered an expert witness, he was asked no questions about "infiltration techniques." All the committee wanted, he said, was "names, names, names of human beings" and he charged that the questioning "on its face was exposure."

Rankin asked the Court not to take account of statements by Harold Velde (then chairman of the committee) and other committee members about the general right of Congress to expose individuals for the sake of informing the public. Justices Black and Frankfurter indicated by their questions that such statements should be considered.

**NATHAN AND MILLER:** A ruling on the case is not expected for two or three months. When it is rendered, it will have a direct bearing on several contempt of Congress cases including the two most recent ones involving playwright Arthur Miller and Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein. Both declined to answer questions under the First Amendment.

At their arraignment on March 1 both pleaded not guilty. Trial of Dr. Nathan is set for April 29, Miller for May 13.

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# Mideast outlook

*(Continued from Page 1)*

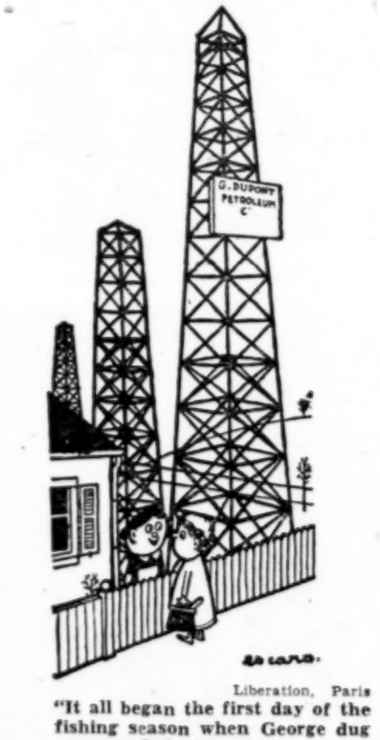
largely verbal. Yet the Doctrine is so out of line with the realities of 1957 and of the Middle East that it could mark the end of the road for U.S. policy. This is the conclusion of the British writer and historian Geoffrey Barraclough (see Kumar Goshal, p. 3).

Barraclough wrote (**Nation**, 3/2) that the situation was not one "which can be dealt with by arms diplomacy." Nor, he added, by dollar diplomacy—as is being increasingly advocated especially by liberal critics of U.S. foreign policy. Dollar diplomacy rests, Barraclough wrote, on the "doubtful postulates" that U.S. aid will bring adherence to Western ideas; and that stability is what the Middle East requires. But the whole Arab world is in "a genuine, indigenous-ferment from below" and to try to "stabilize" it as a base for an anti-Soviet policy "is equivalent to clamping tight the top on a boiler with no safety valve."

The Eisenhower Doctrine seems to envisage a dollar—plus arms—diplomacy. Washington reports have emphasized that the Administration has no clear idea how aid dollars will be spent. The **Wall St. Journal** (3/8) reported that "State Dept. planners foresee trouble in dispensing all the Eisenhower Doctrine's $200 million before July. But they say they'll manage somehow."

**SPEND IT FAST:** How they may manage is suggested by the recent Congressional study of U.S. aid in Iran which between 1951-56 totalled a quarter of a billion dollars. U.S. aid programs in Iran, said this study, "were administered in a loose, slipshod and unbusinesslike manner." The amount of aid was "picked out of the air." The assumption was that "as long as U.S. aid funds were spent promptly it was not a matter of great consequence what they were spent for." In terms of economic development, the value of capital improvement projects has been "almost nil."

The program served primarily as a "source of foreign exchange" for the government which, owing to its oil revenues, didn't need it. (But during the period of oil nationalization the fact that the U.S. made this foreign exchange available facilitated its penetration of the country and its eventual dominance over British interests, after Mossadegh's fall, reportedly engineered with the help of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.) The Iran aid program seemed typical judging by the survey of aid operations in 28 countries made last year by Sen. Ellender and reported (though heavily censored) to the Senate Feb. 7.



Liberation, Paris

**"It all began the first day of the fishing season when George dug a hole for worms."**

The whole question of dollar diplomacy—or foreign aid—presently holds the Washington spotlight. But the Ellender report and the Iran aid study have been successfully buried while a dozen or more "studies" of foreign aid by various commissions and institutes are receiving tremendous publicity. Most of these studies advocate continued spending for foreign aid either at current or higher levels. But, as the **Christian Science Monitor** reported (3/5), the "sound of the whetting of knives" against the President's request for $4.4 billion for foreign aid is already loud on Capitol Hill. The objection is not to dollar diplomacy but to having to pay for it in high taxes. Congress and to a large extent the public have been taught that military expenditures are sacred. That leaves foreign aid as the only other substantial item.

**COLD WAR GOES ON:** Both Congress and taxpayers seemed doomed to disappointment. For they appear to share what the recent report of the International Development Advisory Board called "the widespread but mistaken impression that the U.S. is already engaged in a massive economic development program." Many Americans, it said, "refer to the entire Mutual Security program as foreign aid and use this term as synonymous with economic aid." In fact, only $385 million of last year's $3.8 billion foreign aid or mutual security appropriations were spent for economic development or technical assistance. The rest financed export of military hardware and "defense support." In terms of the budget and taxes therefore any cut in economic aid is virtually meaningless. The President's influential Advisory Committee on Foreign Aid has in fact urged continuing the heavy emphasis on the military. The Washington **Post** commented that "if American foreign policy envisages something beyond deterrence, containment and unending cold war," this report "ought to be consigned to the trash heap."

This is unlikely. U.S. policy appears to be intensifying the cold war and hardening into a new rigidity. UN circles were discouraged by the demotion of Harold Stassen, who was hailed as the "Secretary of Peace" when, following Geneva, he was named as special adviser on disarmament responsible only to the President. At the UN Stassen is credited with introducing a measure of flexibility, however small, into the U.S. position on disarmament and with being one of the principal authors of the proposal for a neutral bloc in Central Europe. Stassen's downgrading—he will be responsible hereafter to Secy. Dulles and it is reported he may resign—signifies to many here that the U.S. will make not even a small gesture toward disarmament at the UN sub-committee talks in London this month. The Western powers have already rejected Soviet proposals that these talks be held at the foreign minister level.

**UP IN ARMS:** Observers here note with anxiety that:

- Although Britain and France admit they are unable to support their current high level of military expenditures, they are taking no initiative toward disarmament. Instead they appear to be turning toward greater reliance on the U.S. and on being atomically armed by the U.S.

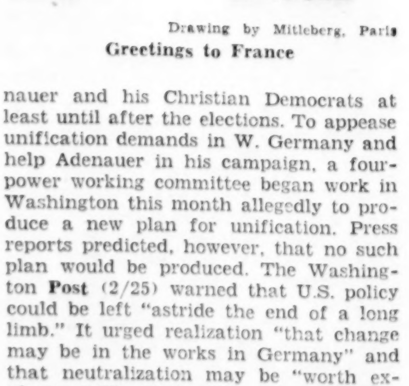
- Although NATO is experiencing a technical crisis as the result of the development of guided missiles and atomic weapons, there are no signs in the West of disarmament negotiations, even on conventional weapons. On the contrary, U.S. military expenditures are going up.

- Stationing of U.S. atomic missiles at bases encircling the U.S.S.R. represents a continuing war threat.

The Washington **Post** (3/1), terming the demotion of Stassen "distressing," said: "It has been clear from the beginning that as a practical matter arms control efforts could be advanced only if the person in charge of them had direct access to and support of the President. . . The problems with which Stassen has been coping have by no means diminished in importance . . . arms control efforts [are now] more rather than less necessary. The prospect that these efforts may now be buried and forgotten in another State Dept. bureau will be dismaying to the world."

**GERMAN POLICY FROZEN:** Similarly dismaying was the continued rigidity of Washington's German policy. The first round of the W. German elections next fall is being fought in the U.S. where W. German Social Democratic leader Ollenhauer and Bonn Foreign Minister Brentano have recently conferred with Washington officials. Washington reportedly cold-shouldered Ollenhauer's proposals for German neutrality and reunification. The Brentano-Dulles communique took no note of the critical and widespread questioning of W. Germany's relations to the West now going on there.

U.S. policy seemed likely to remain geared exclusively to Chancellor Adenauer and his Christian Democrats at least until after the elections. To appease unification demands in W. Germany and help Adenauer in his campaign, a four-power working committee began work in Washington this month allegedly to produce a new plan for unification. Press reports predicted, however, that no such plan would be produced. The Washington **Post** (2/25) warned that U.S. policy could be left "astride the end of a long limb." It urged realization "that change may be in the works in Germany" and that neutralization may be "worth exploring." The **Post** concluded: "It is high time for a new look at the objectives of American policy, for a rigid stand-pattism incurs an increasing risk of being run over by events."



Drawing by Mitleberg, Paris

**Greetings to France**

NEW MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE MAKING

# The sorry plight of the family farmer

**THOSE WHO PRODUCE THE NATION'S FOOD AND FIBER . . .**
*Receive so little of the fruits of their back-breaking labor*

**By Eugene Gordon**

THE U.S. is the world's richest and most efficient producer of agricultural commodities, but many of the men and their families who work in the fields are hounded by poverty. One and a half million of our 5,226,000 farm families—nearly 1,000,000 of them in the South—earned less than $1,000 each last year. Negroes numbered less than one-tenth of the total, but make up one-third of the South's poverty-ridden million.

But all family farms, and not just those of the lowest income group, are running into trouble. Government figures show that more than 100,000, including farms held by ex-GIs after World War II, go out of business yearly. Though the government helped them in getting started, it let them be squeezed out before they could firmly establish themselves. A House of Representatives subcommittee in 1956 reported after a 3,000-mile tour of grass-roots family farms that more than 600,000 in the last four years had been forced into bankruptcy by corporate or industrial-type farms.

**FAMILY vs. CORPORATE:** A family farm is one whose owner-operator and his family furnish at least half the labor and receive an annual income of less than $25,000. The family farm is acknowledged to be the main element of this country's farm-labor force and, at one time, the backbone of U.S. private-enterprise economy. It is also acknowledged that it can effectively compete, production-wise, with the corporate farm through wider use of electric power and increased mechanization, provided the government gives it equal treatment in subsidies and credits and protects all domestic farm labor from exploitation—including exploitation by the government's own promotion of foreign-labor contracts.

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Much of the information in this article is based on a report to the board of directors of the Natl. Sharecroppers Fund by Fay Bennett, its exec. secretary. The NSF, with headquarters at 112 E. 19th St., New York 3, N.Y., has been in existence for 20 years. It seeks to lend "moral and financial support to projects and programs designed to bring a better way of life to men, women and children who produce the nation's food and fiber, but who receive so little of the fruits of their labor." Dr. Frank P. Graham, former U. S. Senator and former president of the U. of North Carolina, is chairman.

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The industrialized farm is aptly illustrated by Mississippi's Delta and Pine Land Co. and Louisiana's Irrigation and Mill Co. The first received a $1,292,472 Federal loan on its 1954 cotton crop; the second, a $486,725 Federal price-support check on its 1954 rice crop. It is such food and fiber producers who turn sharecroppers and small farmers into migrants. They aggravate this situation by supporting an imported-labor program designed to keep farm-labor wages at less than half the U.S. average and to prevent effective union organization.

**INHERENT INEQUITIES:** The imported contract-labor system began as a wartime measure. It continues to grow. A U.S.-Mexican agreement accounted for some 445,000 of the 458,038 contract agricultural workers in this country last year, a 21% increase over the 367,481 Mexican laborers admitted in 1955. Illegal entrants, meanwhile, diminished in number owing to border patrol activity. U.S. policy of barring all illegal entrants while encouraging importations under contract resulted in capturing and expelling a total of 72,442 during 1956. Other imported contract farm workers included 12,374 from the British West Indies and the Bahamas and 7,210 from Canada.

A new development in the contract program was the importation of 386 (out of 918 certified for employment) farm workers from Japan. They entered under that section of the Immigration Act which admits an alien "who is coming temporarily to the United States to perform . . . temporary services of labor, if unemployed persons capable of performing such service or labor cannot be found." Agreement is between individual Japanese workers and the growers' association and not between the U.S. and Japanese governments. Because thousands of miles separate the Japanese from his homeland, he cannot avoid the inherent inequities of the contract program.

**MAN FARTHEREST DOWN:** Last Dec. 28, three days before the contract importation agreement was to expire, the U.S.-Mexican agreement was extended to June, 1959. Mexican agricultural and business leaders protested, along with U.S. labor and other groups. The Natl. Sharecroppers Fund charged in a letter to Labor Secy. James P. Mitchell that continuing the program begun as "a wartime necessity" benefitted only "the corporate farmer . . . to the detriment of the American farm worker."

The NSF declared that "the wages of U.S. workers will remain depressed when growers know they always have available a steady supply of contract workers imported from countries whose living standards are far below those of the U.S., who have no bases here and can be threatened with deportation if they do not accept what is offered them."

**THE ARKANSAS STORY:** To prove its point, the NSF cited this example:

"In Phillips County, Ark., in June, 1956, U.S. workers were paid 35c to 40c an hour. Farm workers in the county that month were made up of 1,000 U.S. workers and 1,055 Mexican. The Mexican workers theoretically were receiving 50c an hour, the minimum to which the Mexican government will agree. By July and August, the rate for U.S. workers had fallen to 35c an hour."

Congress last year yielded to pressure by the NSF and other organizations and passed a law to protect the 1,000,000 U.S. migrant farm workers during interstate transportation. Within a state, however, transportation remains largely unregulated.

An amendment to the Social Security Law specifies that for coverage one must earn $150 (previously $100) from the same farmer); must work 20 days of the same year for the same employer on a time basis. Thus the number of workers covered by Social Security is reduced. Slow progress is being made toward integrating migrant-worker children into regular school programs.

## No chameleons!

THE SATURDAY REVIEW recently printed a strongly adverse review of Anne Morrow Lindbergh's **The Unicorn and Other Poems** by that journal's poetry editor, John Ciardi. According to Norman Cousins' signed editorial in a later issue the book review "produced the biggest storm of reader protest in the 33 year history" of that excellent periodical. "Hundreds of readers," said the editorial, "hastened to tell us of their pointed disapproval of Mr. Ciardi's review; four have written in his support. Many of the letters have raised questions about our editorial procedure."

Mr. Cousins gave the kind of answer on editorial policy which we believe any independent editor should give. He wrote: "It is only with the greatest personal pain that we occasionally publish certain reviews . . . We find ourselves in total disagreement, but we bite our critical lip and send the copy to the printer. It is impossible to edit an independent journal of criticism if the contributors feel free only to mirror the pet ideas of the editor." And then Mr. Cousins tells the story in the following few words: "The quickest way to devitalize a magazine, we feel, is to claim a monopoly in these pages for tastes of the man who is lucky enough to be editor."

We know that most of our readers would, as we do, heartily agree with Norman Cousins' conception of what constitutes free, independent journalism. Now and then a reader writes us to say, "I like **The Churchman** but don't always agree with it." Neither do we! In fact, if we had agreed with everything printed in our pages we would long since have exploded, like the chameleon which inadvertently wandered onto a scotch plaid.

**The Churchman**, March 1, 1957

The Frightened Giant

A NEW BOOK

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

THIS 236-PAGE BOOK is our Editor-in-Exile's fond au revoir to the country he called home for 30 years. The British press has greeted it with comments ranging from high praise to high dudgeon—the dudgeoners being Conservative papers opposed to Belfrage's non-conformist views, his deeply-rooted belief in the innocence of the Rosenbergs, and the withering fire he directs at Dulles, McCarthy & Co.

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**Reynolds News**

"[The author] is an eagerly sincere socialist, humanitarian and pacifist: a Christian who believes that only perfect love can cast out the fear from which . . . much of our human failure arises . . . There are amusing no less than tragic portraits and anecdotes."
**Birmingham Post**

"He is still in love with Walt Whitman and what he calls 'Walt's America', which he thinks will somehow return. He has no glimmer of understanding that Whitman . . . ceased to have any political relevance 50 years ago. He knows nothing of the economic reasons why the U.S. can no longer welcome unreservedly 'your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free.' "
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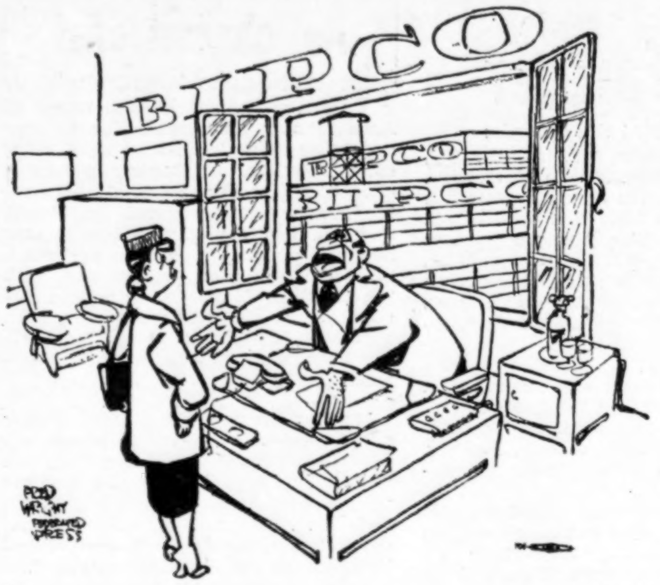

Drawing by Fred Wright

*"But you can't quit, Miss Quimby . . . Bipco's entire success is based on its low-salaried employes!*

## N.Y. Polish bazaar aids labor weekly

A BAZAAR in New York Mar. 16-17 for the benefit of the Polish labor weekly **Glos Ludowy** offers a variety of Polish products including table linens, dressed dolls, handicraft and other imported merchandise. Doors open each day at 1 p.m. Home-cooked Polish meals will be served. Entertainment and prizes will be given both days. Address: The New Polonia Club, 201 Second Av. near 12th St., Manhattan.

## Mulzac's birthday party in N.Y. Mar. 23

THE SEAMAN's Defense Committee will celebrate the birthday of its chairman, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, in New York Saturday eve. Mar. 23, at Esthonian Hall, 2061 Lexington Av. at 125th St., Manhattan. Capt. Mulzac, first Negro skipper of a U.S. Liberty ship, the **Booker T. Washington,** helped organize the Committee a year ago. Since then, with the help of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, it has won for "screened" seamen the right to work pending hearings and the right to face accusers. Singer-composer Earl Robinson will entertain. There will be dancing.

## Skeleton key

E. PALATKA, FLA.

Sham and hypocrisy were never better illustrated than by the Children's Stamp recently issued by the U.S. Post Office Dept. It nobly proclaims "Friendship—the Key to Peace," while the U.S. State Dept. puts every possible obstacle in the way of our making friends with anyone in the very countries with which peaceful relations are vital.

**Frederick A. Blossom**

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# CALENDAR

## Chicago

Second annual **FREEDOM BALL**, honoring Claude Lightfoot on his 47th birthday. Cabaret style. Isadore Hudson & his Orchestra, unexcelled entertainment. **SATURDAY, MARCH 23**, 9 p.m. until ?, New Yorker Room, Hotel Sutherland, 4659 S. Drexel. Admission 90 cents. Sponsor: Chicago Joint Defense Comm.

**SYMPOSIUM** on the relationship of
**SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY**
How do they affect America's Future?
**Hear: MULFORD SIBLEY**
National Committee, Socialist Party, Professor of Political Science, U. of Minn. Associate Editor, "Liberation."
**DOXEY WILKERSON**
National Committee, Communist Party.
**MAX SHACHTMAN**
National Chairman, Independent Socialist League, Editor of Trotsky's Works.
Chairman: **LAWRENCE SCOTT**
Director, Peace Education, Chicago Region, American Friends Service Comm.
**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, 8 P.M.**
MANDEL HALL (Univ. of Chicago) 57 St. & University Ave. General Admission $1. Students 75c. Auspices: Socialist Club, Univ. of Chicago. Young Socialist League, University of Chicago.

## Berkeley, Calif.

The Berkeley Socialist Forum presents **BERT COCHRAN**, editor **"The American Socialist,"** speaking on **"THE NEXT TEN YEARS & SOCIALISM,"** Wed., March 14 at 8 p.m., Hotel Shattuck, Allston Way.

## Los Angeles

**CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST**
**PANEL DISCUSSION BY:**
Attorney Paul Major, Dr. Sanford Goldner and Mr. Martin Hall
**FRIDAY MARCH 22 8 P.M.**
First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles
2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles 5
Tax Fund Benefit—Adm. 75c

## San Francisco

**BERT COCHRAN,**
editor of "The American Socialist" on
**The Future of American Radicalism**
Sponsored by the Independent Socialist Forum of the Bay Area, Fri., March 22, 8:30 p.m., 150 Golden Gate Ave. Don. 50c.

## New York

**CLUB CINEMA** (430 Sixth Av.) **"STORM WITHIN,"** March 16. Cocteau's skillfully written drama about a neurotic middle-class family, done with penetrating realism rather than the surrealism for which Cocteau is noted.. **Showings: Sat., 8:30** and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1.: nonmembers, $1.25. Next week **"THE INFORMER"** (U.S.)

New Lecture Series
**SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM**
(Friday Evenings at Eight)
March 15 — **U. S. ECONOMIC TRENDS AND MARXIST THOUGHT.**
**VICTOR PERLO.**
Author of "American Imperialism,"-and other works on economics.

* * *

March 29 — **SCIENCE, SOCIALISM AND AMERICA**
Automation, Synthetic Foods, Solar and Atomic Energy, etc.—Their effects on Capitalism and Socialism.
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Subscription: $1 per lecture.

Militant Labor Forum
Sunday, March 17, at 7:30 p.m.
**THE STRUGGLE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN AMERICA**
Speaker: Daniel Roberts, editor "The Militant." Sunday, March 24, at 7:30 p.m.
**THE NEW EXPANSION OF WEST-GERMAN CAPITALISM**
Speaker: John Black, contributor, "The Militant," 116 University Place.

The American Czechoslovak Association invites you to a **RECEPTION** for the **SMETANA QUARTET** of Czechoslovakia at 10 p.m. Friday, March 29, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57 St., after their concert at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

LECTURE, SUN., MARCH 24, 7:30 P.M.
**SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN**
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**MAINSTREAM FORUM**
Friday evening, March 15
at
8:30 p.m.

* * *

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and
**DR. HOWARD SELSAM**
will discuss
**FREEDOM OF CHOICE—**
**WHAT DOES IT MEAN?**

* * *

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## Books and Publications

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**CHINA RECONSTRUCTS**
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### Bogged down

OSWEGO, ORE.

Mankind has a dizzy notion
That it knows where it is going,
How sad!
How mad!

**W. Arthur Boggs**

# THE MAIL BAG

### Church in Poland

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

Tabitha Petran's article in the GUARDIAN (2/11) interested me since it dealt with the Polish elections and the Roman Catholic Church's backing of Gomulka. The remark made by the author was that the Church's hierarchy is "cool-headed and realistic."

It is quite singular that the Polish Church would be supporting a Socialist regime of whatever orientation since the Church is universally recognized as the sworn and mortal enemy of Socialism in every land of the globe. I wonder, therefore, in what sense the author remarks that the hierarchy is "cool-headed and realistic." That statement could be taken in many different ways. I wonder if the Gomulka regime might expect darker days in the future because of this "cool-headedness" and "realism."

Recent stories in the GUARDIAN of the Hungarian situation are most enlightening and realistic. I wonder how many Americans who were urged to make contributions to the "poor" Hungarian "freedom fighters" were aware of the manifestations of the perennial scourge, anti-Semitism? None of this sort of news appeared in the more widely distributed press. **F. M. Davis**

*Miss Petran's reference to the Church's realistic attitude was intended to indicate that the Church, sensing that the majority of the people were with Gomulka (as the elections demonstrated), did not want to buck the popular tide.* Editor.

### Cheers for ALS

PORTLAND, ORE.

Re Anna Louise Strong's **Stalin Era:** it is a treat to read accounts written from notes on the spot during times of decided change. **Carmelita L. Dresel**

### Pensioners' problems

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

We are just a couple of old derelicts drifting toward the point of no return. We are pensioners, my partner and I. I am 72 and he is 75 and completely paralyzed from his waist down. I was a longshoreman until I got jerked ino a hatch in '47. An insurance company job of doctoring left me with a stiff leg and two cracked vértebrae. Five years later my wife died with cancer of the lungs and two months later my state insurance compensation ended. The doctor bills took all our savings.

I lived alone two years and then since my partner, Mr. Scoville, had been in the County hospital a year and would be released if he had someone who would be responsible for a little care of him, we joined forces and set up housekeeping. We have been together three years. I get a little radio work and keep at it more as a hobby than for what I can charge.

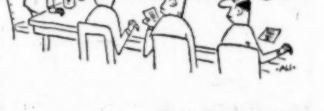
We like similar foods, have much the same political views; neither of us smoke or drink, so we split the bills and try to make our combined pensions reach. He lives either in bed, in his wheel chair or in an Autoette, a small battery-driven, three-wheeled affair. This makes it possible for him to drive to Torrance, a nine-mile trip each way about two or three times a month. There he is an outpatient in the muscular dystrophy clinic.

I have a $57.70 social security pension. The basic pension, if you have no other income, is $89 here in Calif., so they take the $57.70 out of that, and my state pension then become $31.30. We pay $40 rent plus water, gas and electricity. Since he is only allowed $15 a month rent, I make up the rest, $25. After a lot of red tape I was allowed a $5 excess rent allowance, but the other five I take out of my mouth.

These Autoettes don't run themselves and his maintenance bill runs at least $150 a year. The state claims that a hospital patient costs at least $3,000 a year. We have tried without success to get them to allow me a $15 addition to my pension to help them save $3,000 (the state would still be getting $37.50 of it) and since I use the Autoette for transportation nearly half as much as he does, there is no reason why it could not be taken care of that way. As it is, he takes it out of his mouth, or rather we both do. The pension people refuse to see that the state could save the difference.

I have been a subscriber to the GARDIAN almost from its inception. It was not necessary to convert me to the principles it supports. I joined the Socialist Party in 1903, I was 19 years old. I lacked a year of being able to cast my first vote for Gene Debs. The old **Appeal to Reason** supplied me with the foundation for an economic philosophy and I have followed the leadership of the best minds of liberal thought ever since. I still think the CIO picked a poor bedfellow when they put in with the AFL and eventually labor will grow up to where it can view the world through other eyes than those of the takers and fakers. It is publications like yours that make me want to live a few years more.

**George H. Sogle**



Wall Street Journal

**"We'll take the vote over. All those in favor . . ."**

### Organizing team

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We the undersigned—the one a Catholic priest, the other a member of the seamen's union—are acting as organizers of the American People's Party.

The Party is being built around the proposals for a democratic program and proposals for world peace contained in **The Insurgent Spring,** by Clarence E. Duffy ($1.50). The explanations and practical development of these proposals are to be presented in a monthly tabloid, **The American Liberator** (subscription $1), which will also carry news of the growth of the American People's Party (Socialist). Both are obtainable from The Gallant Herald Press, 9 Sherman Ave., New York 40, N.Y., to which all remittance should be made payable.

We are not now asking for contributions. All we ask is that people interested purchase **The Insurgent Spring** and subscribe for **The American Liberator,** or purchase copies of it wherever it is on sale.

**John R. Cormier**
**Rev. Clarence E. Duffy**

### Un-American listing

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The very best answer for us readers would be to solicit thousands and thousands of new subs until the GARDIAN reaches the million mark. **N. E.**

◆

BRAINERD, MINN.

No discredit to the GUARDIAN or its editors; it only verifies the fact that the truth is a very bitter pill for our perverted reactionaries to swallow

**Robert Scherlie**

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| Vitamin B12 | 1.5 mcg. |
| Folic Acid | 0.34 mg. |
| d-Alpha Tocopheryl Acetate (Vit. E) | 3 I. U. |
| Dicalcium Phosphate Anhyd. | 747 mg. |
| Niacinamide | 20 mg. |
| Ferrous Sulfate, Dried | 45.56 mg. |
| Potassium Iodide | 0.133 mg. |
| Manganese Sulfate, Dried | 4.72 mg. |
| Cobalt Sulfate | 0.49 mg. |
| Zinc Sulfate, Dried | 3.9 mg. |
| Sodium Molybdate | 1.01 mg. |
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| Manganese Sulfate, Dried | 1.573 mg. |
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| Potassium Iodide | 0.099 mg. |
| Potassium Sulfate | 4.458 mg. |
| Zinc Sulfate, Dried | 1.388 mg. |
| Magnesium Sulfate, Dried | 21.583 mg. |

# the SPECTATOR

## Dixieville, U.S.A.

THE PURCELLVILLE, Va., "white" public library last month refused to lend a Negro upholsterer a book on French draperies. The story reminded me of an experience on the last day of a week's visit to Dixieville, S.C., in June, 1953. I had been told that nowhere except in the "white" public library could be found the book I needed; which meant that, as far as I was concerned, the book didn't exist. So finally I decided to go to that library.

I'd probably not be treated worse than Dr. W.E.B. DuBois was reported to have been by Atlanta's public library in 1903. The story went, I recalled, that the young Harvard Ph.D., author of **The Suppression of the Slave Trade** and professor of economics and history at Atlanta University, had gone to the library for a copy of his recently published **The Souls of Black Folk.** He was barred at the entrance by an attendant who said: "I don't care who you are. This is a white library." (I just checked with Dr. DuBois. The story, he said, was apocryphal; he knew too much about Atlanta to get into such a situation.)

Well, that was 50 years ago. DuBois seven years later had helped organize the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP in 43 years—if only by the fact of being—must have influenced some attitudes even in Dixieville. So I'd go in. I'd ask for books relating to the town's origin. I would express amazement if rejected.

In front of a long, low brick building in its park-like grounds I turned quickly, before I could change my mind, and walked straight up the path and up the steps. It was then 10 a.m.

EXCEPT FOR AN ANCIENT CONFEDERATE who sat scanning a newspaper beside a window, there were no readers in the large, sun-lighted room. An elderly white woman within the curvature of the information desk queried me with her eyes. I told her I'd like to see the librarian. Casting me a second quizzical look, she hastened into the forest of ceiling-high bookshelves at the rear.

The middle-aged, pleasant-faced woman who came forward introduced herself as Mrs. Smith and asked what she could do for me. She wasn't sure, she said, whether the library had much about Dixieville's history. The first woman, at her desk again, seemed shocked at the scene. Mrs. Smith asked me to excuse her; she vanished among the shelves and I heard her telephoning.

I HADN'T TIME to speculate on what she was up to when she was back with several small volumes, one an unpublished manuscript on Dixieville's origin. She said she had just phoned "Mr. Davis" of the Chamber of Commerce. "I also phoned Johnson," she said; just "Johnson," without explanation. "Mr. Davis" was in conference right now but would be glad to see me at 2:30. "Johnson" would be here soon. She said: "He agrees to be responsible for the books until they're returned."

"Who is he?" I asked.

"Why, don't you know? He's principal of the Colored Elementary School."

She said I ought to know about its very fine library and its "competent" librarian. I asked whether she referred to **Mrs.** Nichols. She said: "Yes. **Mary** Nichols." I caught on. Mrs. Mary Nichols was a Negro. I said: "I met **Mrs.** Nichols the other day." Her curiosity about me broke through. Was I a teacher? I told her about the GUARDIAN.

THE SCREEN DOOR was pulled open gently and gently closed by a middle-aged, stout brown man of medium height in a blue shirt—no jacket—and dark-gray summer slacks. His worried glance, as he approached, slid over me and rested on Mrs. Smith's face. She said: "How d'you do, Johnson." She explained that she was holding him responsible for the books "he" was taking. (I was "he.") She had written the titles on a slip of paper. She said: "You will sign for these books, Johnson." He signed. She attached the slip to the books with a rubber band and handed them to me.

I told her I was staying a few blocks away, that I'd copy from the books that night and return them tomorrow. She said: "Oh, these books are not allowed to circulate! I'm sorry, but I couldn't let you do that!"

I learned then that "Johnson" would drive me in his car to his school library where, under his surveillance, I would read the books.

I SAT BESIDE the silent principal of the Colored Elementary School as he drove through the shaded streets toward Dixieville's outskirts. Why, I wondered, was he so glum? Did he resent my presence? Suddenly his mood changed and his laughter startled me. He said:

"That sure was funny. You being a stranger round here wouldn't know it, but things sure have changed. Even now, none of us born down here could get away with what you did—going into the white library like that and asking for books. And getting them, too. We're supposed to know better. I remember the time when even you'd've been thrown out of that place so quick you wouldn't have known what hit you."

He laughed again. "But nowadays these white folks are all mixed up, what with the Supreme Court and the NAACP and everything. How'd she know you might not turn out to be an NAACP investigator or something?"

**—Eugene Gordon**

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### Hard to find

YONKERS, N.Y.

The Atom bomb brings lots of fear.
All people know it far and near.
It blows up things of every kind,
And when it does they're hard to find. **Bobby (4th Grade)**

### The needy monarch

OAKLAND, CALIF.

The needy monarch left in style
His coffers heavy laden
And tweaked his concubines the while
He set his sails for Aden.

**Paul Brown**